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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

Security Assistance to Africa

Testimony of Assistant Secretary Linda Thomas-Greenfield, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State Before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy. June 4, 2015 [PDF format, 15 pages]

"Given state fragility, conflict, and transnational security issues, the promotion of peace and security in Africa remains one of the United States' highest priorities, and is critical to attainment of our democracy and governance, economic, and development goals. We are actively pursuing policies of partnership and ways to promote solutions that yield long-term results... With the overarching goal of helping our African partners, our security policy addresses three broad priorities: peacekeeping and the prevention of additional conflicts, strengthening the security sector in partner states, and countering terrorism and other transnational threats... The Administration remains committed to building African peacekeeping capacity at the regional, sub-regional, and national levels, including through the provision of advisors, training, equipment, and other assistance. Peacekeeping 3 operations in Mali, the Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan contribute to stability within the respective sub-regions, as well as the entire continent."

Cybersecurity: Setting the Rules for Responsible Global Behavior

Testimony of Christopher M. E. Painter, Coordinator for Cyber Issues, U.S. Department of State Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy. May 14, 2015 [PDF format, 13 pages]

"Only four years ago this month, the White House issued its International Strategy for Cyberspace, leading the world in recognizing the need for a comprehensive and crosscutting strategic approach to this key area. We were also the first country to establish a foreign ministry office like the one I lead —the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues—to coordinate diplomatic efforts across the full range of international cyber policy issues. The world has changed dramatically even since then... Cyber issues have become central topics of discussion in virtually every international venue, and cyber diplomacy is increasingly viewed by governments as a foreign policy imperative. In the policy context, we face significant and growing challenges, especially from China, Russia, and other authoritarian governments that seek increased sovereign control over the Internet and its content. These challenges surface in a variety of fora and across a range of policy issues. Internet governance is a prime example of a challenging cyber policy area. Here, we see governments that are more concerned with regime stability than with economic and social development pushing to shift from the long-standing and successful multi-stakeholder model— one that involves active participation by governments, the private sector, civil society, and academia in an inclusive and bottom-up process—to an intergovernmental and exclusive system that could fundamentally undermine the future growth and potential of the Internet."

Standing Up for the Environment: Trade for a Greener World

Office of the U.S. Trade Representative; U.S. Department of State. May 2015 [PDF format, 64 pages]

"Today's environmental challenges are global in nature and require an international response. Strong environmental protections in trade agreements, like the ones we're negotiating in the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement can be a key part of this response... The Obama Administration is leading the charge to shape an international response to the global environmental challenges we face. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement — being negotiated with 11 other Asia Pacific countries — is part of that effort. Once implemented, TPP will help protect one of the most ecologically and economically significant regions of the world—from the deserts and plains of Australia, to the Mekong River Delta of Vietnam, to the Andes mountains of Peru. This is a region that also encompasses major consumer and export markets for protected wildlife, and includes seven of the top eighteen fishing nations, which together account for a quarter of global marine catch and seafood exports. Across this critical zone, the TPP would establish the toughest environmental protections of any regional trade agreement. We are on track to establish new commitments to protect marine life from illegal fishing and harmful fisheries subsidies."

NATO Publics Blame Russia for Ukrainian Crisis, but Reluctant to Provide Military Aid Stokes, Bruce, et. al. Pew Research Center. June 10, 2015.

"Publics of key member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) blame Russia for the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Many also see Russia as a military threat to other neighboring states. But few support sending arms to Ukraine. Moreover, at least half of Germans, French and Italians say their country should not use military force to defend a NATO

ally if attacked by Russia... NATO nations are hesitant, however, to escalate their involvement in the conflict, especially militarily. Comparatively few support sending arms to Ukraine (median of 41%). And many allied countries are reluctant to uphold Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which requires NATO members to defend an ally with armed force if necessary." Bruce Stokes is director of global economic attitudes in the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project.

A Transatlantic Approach to Europe's East: Relaunching the Eastern Partnership

Burwell, Frances G. The Atlantic Council. May 2015 [PDF format, 9 pages]

In this report the author examines the need for a closer and more integrated relationship between the European Union and the key countries of the Eastern Partnership (EaP). Burwell argues that the Riga summit offers a key chance for Europe to both confront the challenges to its East, and to launch a new Transatlantic Partnership for Wider Europe in close cooperation with the United States. According to him, failure to relaunch the EaP framework, by identifying the factors that make these countries vulnerable and designing strategies to overcome these specific weaknesses, will have dire consequences for the prosperity and security of the entire region..."To safeguard its own security, Europe must build a closer and more integrated relationship with the key countries of its Eastern Partnership (EaP). Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia must become priorities, and over the longer term, Europe must look for opportunities with Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. As long as these countries are poor, vulnerable to aggression, and politically unstable—some with frozen or active conflicts within their borders—they will erode the security of the rest of Europe." Frances G. Burwell is an Atlantic Council Vice President and Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations.

Iran's Role in Iraq: Room for Cooperation?

Nader, Alireza. Rand Corporation. June 2015 [PDF format, 23 pages]

"The rise of Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has led to arguments in favor of U.S.-Iran cooperation in combating the group, as immediate American and Iranian interests in Iraq are very similar: Both countries view ISIL and the broader Sunni jihadi movement as major threats to their national interests. American and Iranian military forces in Iraq are fighting the same enemy and, on the surface, U.S. air power seems to complement Iran's on-the-ground presence in Iraq. While the United States and Iran ultimately have divergent long-term goals for Iraq, and face disagreements on many other issues, limited tactical cooperation in weakening ISIL in Iraq may be possible. This paper examines Iranian objectives and influence in Iraq in light of ISIL's ascendance. In particular, the paper focuses on Iran's ties with Iraqi Shi'a parties and militias and the implications of Iran's sectarian policies for U.S. interests. In addition, the paper examines the role of specific Iranian actors in Iraq, especially the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the clergy, and the government of President Hassan Rouhani. Finally, the paper concludes with policy recommendations for the United States." Alireza Nader is a senior international policy analyst at the RAND Corporation and the author of Iran After the Bomb (Rand Corporation, 2013).

What the Iran Deal Means for Russia

Schwartz, Paul N. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). June 3, 2015 [PDF format, 6 pages]

"Over the last 18 months, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (the United States, China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom) together with Germany (collectively, the P5+1) have engaged in intensive negotiations with Iran on an accord to limit its nuclear program. On April 2, the two sides announced a framework agreement containing detailed parameters for a final accord to be negotiated over the subsequent 3-months period, with signature expected by June 30, 2015. Under the new accord, Iran would have to adhere to strict limits on its ability to produce plutonium and enrich uranium and accept an intrusive inspection regime for a period of at least 10 years in return for lifting of a range of sanctions imposed upon it by the international community. While several issues remain open, what's increasingly clear is that, unless the accord ultimately leads to a fundamental transformation in Iran's relationship with the West, Russia is likely to emerge as a key beneficiary of the process." *Paul N. Schwartz is a nonresident senior associate with the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.*

2015 Report Card on International Cooperation

Council on Foreign Relations. May 2015 [PDF format, 56 pages]

"This report evaluates multilateral efforts to address ten of the world's most pressing global challenges, from countering transnational terrorism to advancing global health. No country can confront these issues better on its own. Combating the threats, managing the risks, and exploiting the opportunities presented by globalization require international cooperation. To help policymakers around the world prioritize among these challenges, the CoC Report Card on International Cooperation surveyed the Council of Councils, a network of twenty-four foreign policy institutes around the world... The survey asked heads of member think tanks to evaluate international efforts on ten of the most important issues in 2014: the global economy, nuclear nonproliferation, climate change, development, global health, trade, cyber governance, transnational terrorism, and both interstate and intrastate, i.e., internal, conflict."

Rethinking Global Protection: New Channels, New Tools

Newland, Kathleen. Migration Policy Institute [Note: contains copyrighted material] May 2015 [PDF format, 12 pages]

"This report explores the main sources of strain on the existing system of protection, and examines the two most promising avenues for strengthening the system: development- and mobility-focused approaches. It makes the case for a robust, cooperative international effort to go beyond humanitarian assistance and incorporate new tools and new channels for the protection of the displaced. As the report argues, two new approaches in particular have the potential to refit and reinvigorate the protection regime. One involves integrating development programming with the traditional care-and-maintenance models of protection to empower refugees to use their skills and energies to provide for their own livelihoods, by granting them

the right to work—in cooperation with host communities. The second approach would open channels of international mobility that might include labor migration schemes, family reunification with relatives already settled elsewhere, and international study and training programs, which would help refugees achieve both security and self-sufficiency. Incorporating development and mobility approaches to protection into international cooperative efforts could prove to be an effective way to create a more sustainable and dynamic response to forcible displacement." Kathleen Newland is Co-Founder of the Migration Policy Institute and directs MPI's program on Migrants, Migration, and Development; she also leads the Institute's refugee protection work.

Central Asia in a Reconnecting Eurasia

Kuchins, Andrew C.; Mankoff, Jeffrey. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). May 2015 [PDF format, 24 pages]

This report examines the full scope of U.S. national interests in Central Asia and puts forward the broad outlines of a strategy for U.S. engagement over the coming years. "As U.S. policy transitions into this post—Afghanistan conflict period, Washington has a golden opportunity to rebalance its approach to Central Asia away from the security focus that has predominated since 9/11 to give more attention to promoting economic growth and the realization of the gains offered by cooperation and connectivity, all while continuing to promote security...

Though not a Eurasian power, the United States nevertheless maintains important interests in the region. The five states of Central Asia sit at the nexus of Washington's most significant foreign and security policy challenges: Afghanistan/Pakistan, China, Russia, and Iran. A stable, prosperous Central Asia fully integrated with global trading networks is, moreover, less likely to become a breeding ground for transnational challenges like extremism, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, trafficking, and organized crime." Andrew C. Kuchins is a senior fellow and director of the CSIS Russia and Eurasia Program. Jeffrey Mankoff is deputy director and fellow with the CSIS Russia and Eurasia Program.

Enhancing U.S. Support for Peace Operations in Africa

Williams, Paul D. Council on Foreign Relations. May 2015 [PDF format, 40 pages]

The author argues in this report that greater U.S. involvement is necessary to enhance the quality and success of peace operations in Africa, which tend to suffer from a lack of trained manpower and inadequate funding. According to the author, unrealistic mandates, unsustainable supplies of personnel, hostile host governments, and mission creep have undermined peace operations, "The United Nations and the African Union can conduct and ensure effective peace operations only if they are tied to a comprehensive political strategy of conflict resolution. The effectiveness of these operations depends on the ability of the authorizing bodies to select appropriate contributions from a broad pool of countries able to field well-trained, equipped, and committed peacekeepers, soldiers, police, and civilians. This, in turn, is more likely if peace operations are viewed as a collective global responsibility. The United States should therefore encourage other developed states to invest more personnel and resources in peace operations. Washington's leadership would be enhanced by deploying its

own specialist contingents and capabilities within UN missions." Paul D. Williams is an associate professor in the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University.

China's Expanding African Relations: Implications for U.S. National Security

Thrall, Lloyd. Rand Corporation. June 10, 2015 [PDF format, 133 pages]

"This report explores China's rapidly expanding involvement in Africa in order to better inform U.S. thinking about its relations both with China and with African states. The report pays particular attention to geostrategic competition in Africa, potential security threats, and opportunities on the continent. It examines the economic, political, and security interests driving Chinese engagement with African states and assesses potential medium-term changes in Sino-African relations across these three dimensions. It then assesses how China's interests and behavior on the continent affect the interests of the United States. In this matter, misperceptions often result from faulty assumptions about the potential for conflict over resources, images of Cold War-style geopolitical competition, and the nature of China's economic engagement with the continent. The report concludes by offering policy recommendations for U.S. and Army leaders concerned with U.S. security relationships with African states and with managing Sino-American relations in Africa. In particular, the report recommends that the United States should view China's sometimes-unfavorable activities in Africa in context and continue to seek opportunities to engage Beijing on mutual interests, such as defeating violent extremists, improving African infrastructure to promote trade and development, and encouraging economic and political stability on the continent." Lloyd Thrall is a project association at the Rand Corporation where his research focuses on the intersection of security studies, international relations, and political economy in East Asia.

The "Islamic State" Crisis and U.S. Policy

Blanchard, Christopher M., et. al. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 27, 2015 [PDF format, 44 pages]

"As of mid-2015, observers continue to debate the success of U.S. and coalition efforts against the Islamic State. Some experts assert that coalition strikes and ground efforts by Iraqi security forces, Kurds, and predominantly Shiite Popular Mobilization Unit forces have shrunk the area of the Islamic State's control to some degree, but questions remain over whether operations by anti-IS forces and broader political arrangements will create conditions required for the group's lasting defeat... In December 2014, the 113th Congress provided new authorities and funds for efforts to combat the Islamic State organization in Syria and Iraq in the FY2015 national defense authorization (P.L. 113-291) and consolidated appropriations acts (P.L. 113-235). The 114th Congress is now considering the Administration's FY2016 appropriations requests, related authorizations (H.R. 1735 and S. 1376), and proposals for the authorization for the use of military force against the Islamic State." *Christopher M. Blanchard is an Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs at the CRS*.

Saudi Arabia and the Shifting Geoeconomics of Oil

Livingston, David, et. al. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. May 21, 2015.

"While Saudi Arabia could tolerate, albeit reluctantly, greater production from smaller OPEC states, it is far more concerned about increased exports from Iran, should international sanctions on the country be lifted as part of a long-term deal on its nuclear program. It is conceivable that the combined production of Iran and Iraq—which is also trying to rebuild its oil industry after a long period of war and other disruptions—could exceed that of Saudi Arabia within a matter of years. As the strongest player in the world oil market, Saudi Arabia has always sought to keep prices above a lower bound that would discourage a healthy degree of investment and competition among suppliers and below an upper bound that would begin to erode long-term oil demand....Saudi Arabia's predominance in the market is not in doubt. But if other players in OPEC open the spigot, the market's second-most-important actor will be in significant flux. Shale's technological advances will be pitted against the will of OPEC's sleeping giants, Iraq and Iran. The outcome is anyone's guess. From Houston to Tehran to Baghdad and beyond, the world is entering a new era of uncertainty in the geoeconomics of oil." David Livingston is an associate in Carnegie's Energy and Climate Program, where his research focuses on innovation, markets, and risk.

ARTICLES

What Will 2050 Look Like?

Walt, Stephen M. Foreign Policy. May 12, 2015, var. pages.

"If asked to describe the world of 2050, for example, I'd argue that there are some important elements that are easy to forecast — with a suitable margin for error — and other areas where it is nearly impossible. At the "more certain" end of the spectrum is population. Although fertility and death rates do fluctuate over time (and not always predictably), demographic models can take these shifts into account and we can be pretty confident about the size of world's population in 2050 and the populations of individual countries... To be specific, it is highly likely (if not quite certain) that the United States, China, Japan, India, Brazil, Russia, and the EU will be major economic players in 2050, and the states that have high per capita incomes at present will almost certainly have high per capita incomes 35 years from now. Similarly, although a few emerging economies will do well in the decades ahead, most of today's poorer countries will still be relatively poor in 2050 (even if they are a lot better off than they are today)." Stephen M. Walt is the Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University.

Why Technology Hasn't Delivered More Democracy

Carothers, Thomas. Foreign Policy. June 3, 2015, var. pages.

"The current moment confronts us with a paradox. The first fifteen years of this century have been a time of astonishing advances in communications and information technology, including digitalization, mass-accessible video platforms, smart phones, social media, billions of people gaining internet access, and much else. These revolutionary changes all imply a profound

empowerment of individuals through exponentially greater access to information, tremendous ease of communication and data-sharing, and formidable tools for networking. Yet despite these changes, democracy — a political system based on the idea of the empowerment of individuals — has in these same years become stagnant in the world... How can we reconcile these two contrasting global realities — the unprecedented advance of technologies that facilitate individual empowerment and the overall lack of advance of democracy worldwide? To help answer this question, I asked six experts on political change, all from very different professional and national perspectives. Here are their responses, followed by a few brief observations of my own." Thomas Carothers is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Ukraine, Security Assurances, and Nonproliferation

Einhorn, Robert. *The Washington Quarterly*. Spring 2015, pp. 47–72.

"The failure of the security assurances contained in the 1994 Budapest Memorandum to prevent Russia's annexation of Crimea and support for eastern Ukrainian separatists has been widely viewed as a serious blow to global nuclear nonproliferation efforts... The Budapest Memorandum of Security Assurances1 was signed by Russia, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States on December 5, 1994. It was the culmination of a nearly three-year effort to address the nonproliferation and other nuclear challenges posed by the demise of the USSR and the inheritance by several newly independent states of former Soviet nuclear weapons and delivery systems that were based on their territory... Russia's aggression against Ukraine has indeed been a shock to the international order, raising the specter of cross-border violations of sovereignty and territorial integrity that, at least in Europe, was considered a thing of the past. Russia's violation of its Budapest Memorandum commitments has produced acute anxiety and insecurity on the part of its neighbors—the kind of reactions that can give rise to interest in acquiring indigenous nuclear weapons capabilities." Robert Einhorn is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, and is the former special advisor to Secretary of State Clinton for nonproliferation and arms control.

Russia and America: Toward a New Detente

Gelb, Leslie H. The National Interest. June 9, 2015, var. pages.

"While President Vladimir Putin's "covert" war in Ukraine continues to inflame tensions, he also torments his Baltic neighbors and threatens Europe with provocative military flights and nuclear rhetoric. Western alarms are heightened by Putin's seeming unpredictability and his apparently unlimited internal power. The West can't reckon how far he will take his muscle flexing—or how to stop him... What, then, can the West do that has some chance of success? The only sensible path is to develop a diplomatic strategy with real leverage. This strategy would retain the sanctions regime and credible prospects for a greater NATO presence until its benefits materialize. It is now quite evident, however, that these punitive and defensive measures alone won't produce the requisite power over Russia, a conclusion shared by a number of former American ambassadors to Moscow, including Jack Matlock, Thomas Pickering and James Collins. An effective diplomatic strategy has to be rooted in what matters most to

Russian leaders—their historical sense of self and their passion to be treated as a great power." Leslie H. Gelb is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, a former senior official in the State and Defense Departments, and a former New York Times columnist.

Russia's New Presence in the Middle East

Blank, Stephen. American Foreign Policy Interest. May/June 2015, pp. 69-79.

"Russia has made systematic strategic efforts for the last few years to expand and enhance its strategic presence throughout the Middle East. It has used all the instruments of power available to it—arms sales, energy sales or buys, and diplomatic support—to gain a lasting position from which it can influence all of the states and issues in the Middle East while remaining unconstrained in its behavior. In other words, it seeks a position from which it can influence or obstruct events but not have any responsibility for arranging true peace settlements of a lasting nature. Indeed, even its attitude toward terrorists is of a strictly utilitarian nature. Hence, its Middle Eastern policies are ultimately and essentially negative and obstructive and cannot bring about a lasting settlement anywhere... Historically, Russian domination of Ukraine and the Black Sea has been the precondition for Russia's increased influence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Neither should we expect a different result now unless Russia's aggression is rolled back. Even before Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2014, Russian analysts asserted Moscow's great potential in the Middle East and argued for significantly expanding its presence there and the Eastern Mediterranean." Stephen Blank is a senior fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington.

Leaving Europe: British Process, Greek Event

Jones, Erik. Survival. June/July 2015, pp. 79-85.

"Two of the great risks facing the European economy are the exit of Greece from the single currency and the exit – or distancing – of the United Kingdom from the European Union (EU) It is easy to think of these threats as similar, even if only because they have similarly catchy names ('Grexit' and 'Brexit') for use in popular debate... Long and complex negotiations create many different kinds of uncertainty – about financial commitments, property rights, trade relations, market access and political influence. That is why a UK exit from the European Union would be such a shock to the EU economy as a whole. Firms and other market actors would have to slow down the pace of their activity until enough dust settled for them to be able to make plans for the future... Europe's leaders seem to be wary of the prospect of a Greek exit. Although the Governing Council of the ECB has not restored the waiver on the use of Greek assets as collateral in routine eurozone refinancing operations, it has allowed increases in the emergency liquidity assistance available to Greek banks. Unfortunately, that is not the end of the story. The political dynamics surrounding the latest Greek agreement are only the most obvious source of threat. The institutional politics unfolding within the ECB Governing Council are also important, and we have to worry about the health of the Greek banks." Erik Jones is Professor of European Studies and International Political Economy at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, a Senior Research Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, and a contributing editor of Survival.

<u>China's Manifest Destiny in America: Will Beijing and Washington Create a New Commercial</u> Civilization to Benefit All?

Mendis, Patrick. Harvard International Review. June 8, 2015, var. pages.

"In essence, China is simply following the same historical footsteps as the United States with its own Ménluó—a transliteration of Monroe—Doctrine in the East and South China Seas. It is worth noting that whatever those claims may be, China has not been in any position to impose its sovereignty over these maritime territories, militarily or economically, until recently. As these confrontations become more acrimonious and volatile, China appears to feel less constrained by having to navigate the contours of diplomacy to negotiate its claims... The importance of the South and East China Seas is hard to overstate. More than half of the world's oil tankers as well as merchant ships travel through this maritime region. It is one of the busiest and top ten container shipping ports in the world. The resource-rich South and East China Seas are also surrounded by energy-importing and export-led Asian Tiger economies." Patrick Mendis is a senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, and the author of Peaceful War: How the Chinese Dream and the American Destiny Create a Pacific New World Order (2013).

The Debate Over US China Strategy

Friedberg, Aaron L. Survival. June/July 2015, pp. 89-110.

"Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has pursued a two-pronged strategy towards China. On the one hand, Washington has sought to engage Beijing across a wide range of domains, including through bilateral diplomacy, participation in multilateral institutions, trade, investment, scientific cooperation, educational and cultural exchange, civil-society initiatives and military-to-military dialogues... At the same time as it has engaged China, from the mid-1990s onwards the United States has also taken steps designed to offset its growing strength, maintaining a balance of 'hard power' in East Asia favorable to America's interests and those of its allies This balancing portion of the US strategic portfolio has included a number of subsidiary elements, including preserving and selectively strengthening American military capabilities in the region, bolstering strategic cooperation with traditional treaty allies such as Japan, South Korea and Australia, and developing 'quasi-alliance' relationships with a number of countries (including Singapore and India) to which the US does not extend security guarantees, but which share its concern over the implications of China's growing military power... Through balancing, the United States aims to uphold its alliances and to preserve peace and stability by deterring aggression or attempts at coercion. At the same time, through engagement, Washington has sought to encourage China's full incorporation into the existing international system." Aaron L. Friedberg is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. His most recent book is Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over US Military Strategy in Asia (Routledge, 2014)

Coercing Climate Action

Gilley Bruce; Kinsella, David. Survival. April/May 2015, pp. 7–28.

"Resource scarcity, poverty, disease, refugee movements and other effects of climate change create hardships for populations, and can prompt governments to pursue policies that lead them into direct conflict with one another. Changes in the globe's physical features may also encourage potentially dangerous opportunism by states – resulting in clashes over Arctic sea passage, for example. If climate change is likely to represent a serious threat to national and human security, then it follows that states will take a growing interest in international action to prevent it... Addressing both the legal and practical issues relating to climate change and international security will require new frameworks of analysis, given the limited relevance of orthodox schools of political thought in this domain. What is clear, though, is that any movement towards the use of coercion for the purpose of averting climate change will reshuffle traditional alliances and ways of thinking about international politics. The time for thinking through the implications of such coercion is now." Bruce Gilley is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the doctoral program in Public Affairs and Policy in the Mark O. Hatfield School of Government at Portland State University. David Kinsella is Professor and Chair of Political Science in the Mark O. Hatfield School of Government at Portland State University.

Will the Real Iran Please Stand Up?

Manning, Robert. YaleGlobal. April 28, 2015, var. pages.

"So which is the real Iran? On the nuclear accord, US diplomats will find out soon enough if the supreme leader has tied the hands of his negotiators or if Iranian pronouncements are bargaining tactics. Looming perhaps even larger than the many uncertain details of the nuclear framework agreement are uncertainties about the larger impact of any deal on the region and US-Iran relations. There is no direct linkage between the nuclear accord and the many issues of US concern about Iran's behavior in the region – from support for the Assad regime in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Gaza or the Houthi rebels in Yemen... Revolutions tend to lose their fervor by the third generation. That may be true of the Iranian public, with 60 percent of 80 million citizens under age 30, but the regime has only modestly toned down its internal discipline and continues its activism in the region. International sanctions have taken their toll. With access to banks and foreign investment cut off, Iran's economy has been floundering, only growing an estimated 3 percent in 2014 after contracting 1.7 percent the previous year. Rouhani has altered disastrous economic policies with subsidies that reached 27 percent of GDP, and inflation soaring to 35 percent." Robert A. Manning is a senior fellow of the Brent Scowcroft Center for International Security at the Atlantic Council and its Strategic Foresight Initiative.

Iran's Strategy for Saving Asad

Terrill, W. Andrew. Middle East Journal. Spring 2015, pp.222-236.

"For decades, Iran has supported the regime of Bashar al-Asad in Syria with military advisors, weapons, and both diplomatic and financial support due to Tehran's belief that a pro-Iranian government in Syria is a core national interest. In this regard, cooperation with Damascus has provided Tehran with a number of strategic advantages, which it is loath to surrender. More

recently, the Iranians have also come to view Syria as a vital ally against the threat of the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). In this environment, the Islamic Republic will likely continue to bolster the Asad regime even if the Syrian civil war continues for years... The ideological gap between the Islamic Republic and a secular Arab republic such as Syria was sometimes considered too great to overcome in any long-term scenario. This assessment has now been proven incorrect, and the Syrian-Iranian alliance has remained durable and entrenched throughout the decades since the Iranian revolution" W. Andrew Terrill is a research professor with the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College.

Defeating the Islamic State: A Financial-Military Strategy

Kan, Paul Rexton. Parameters. Winter 2015, pp. 71-80.

"Through oil smuggling, kidnapping, human trafficking and extortion, ISIL is one the best funded militant groups the United States has confronted. Avoiding a protracted conflict with ISIS requires a more integrated financial and military strategy to undermine the group's territorial control and reach... By relying on criminal enterprises, ISIL has made itself into a highly adaptable and resilient organization not easily swept from the battlefield. By perpetrating criminal acts, ISIL easily earns money for weapons, training, and recruitment and does not depend on significant sponsorship by an external state. It is not reliant on moving illicit money across international borders through established financial institutions, thus insulating itself from many traditional financial countermeasures such as economic sanctions, asset seizures, and clamping down on sympathetic charities. Such insulation means ISIL can use illicit schemes to fund its current operations and potentially extend its fight into other regions. Due to the significant role that crime plays in ISIL's power, the Unites States requires a more integrated financial and military strategy to undermine the group's territorial control and reach." Paul Kan is Professor of National Security Studies at the US Army War College. His forthcoming book is Drug Trafficking and International Security.

What to Do When Foreign Fighters Come Home

Holmer, Georgia. Peace Channel (blog). June 2, 2015, var. pages.

"Since the Islamic State began its rampage through the Middle East, more than 20,000 people from around the world are estimated to have traveled to join the group. Of that figure, many will die. But many will also return to their countries of origin or relocate somewhere new. The choices these men and women make next, the sorts of lives they will lead, and the threat they may pose to their communities will be heavily determined by what options they have in this next stage of their lives, and how they are treated upon return. There is a pressing need to develop effective strategies to respond to these returnees — and these strategies must be rooted not only in a clear understanding of the reasons why these people left their home nations in the first place, but also what propelled them to return."

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

Opportunity for All: Fighting Rural Child Poverty

Council of Economic Advisers, The White House. May 2015.

"Rural America provides the vast majority of food, energy, and environmental benefits for the rest of the country, is the source of nearly 90 percent of renewable water resources, and is home to important service sector and manufacturing hubs. Despite this critical role in our nation's economy, too many Americans in rural areas are not sharing in our nation's economic growth. In 2013, 6.2 million Americans in rural areas lived in poverty, including about 1.5 million children. While the fight to eliminate poverty is far from over, the 2014 Economic Report of the President documented that federal programs designed to reduce poverty and promote opportunity have cut poverty by more than one-third over the past 50 years. This report also shows that poverty in rural areas fell by nearly half between 1967 and 2012, compared to about one –quarter in urban areas. Federal programs have played a central role in this decline, and this is especially true for rural child poverty."

Wind Vision: A New Era for Wind Power in the United States

U.S. Department of Energy. June 2015.

This comprehensive analysis evaluates future pathways for the wind industry in the U.S. "With more than 4.5% of the nation's electricity supplied by wind energy today, the Department of Energy has collaborated with industry, environmental organizations, academic institutions, and national laboratories to develop a renewed Wind Vision, documenting the contributions of wind to date and envisioning a future where wind continues to provide key contributions to the nation's energy portfolio. Building on and updating the 2008 20% Wind Energy by 2030 report, the new Wind Vision Report quantifies the economic, environmental, and social benefits of a robust wind energy future and the actions that wind stakeholders can take to make it a reality."

The Kauffman Index: Startup Activity

Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation. June 4, 2015.

"Startup activity bounced upward in 32 of the 50 U.S. states last year, and 18 of the nation's top 40 metropolitan areas also saw increases in new venture activity. This report from the Kauffman Foundation brings together the latest data available on entrepreneurial trends nationally, at the state level, and for the 40 largest metropolitan areas of the United States... In overall startup activity, all cities that ranked in the top 10 with the most startup activity in the 2014 Index remained in the top 10 in the 2015 Index. The top 10 metros were, in this order, centered on the cities of: Austin, Texas; Miami, Fla.; San Jose, Calif.; Los Angeles; Denver; San Francisco; New York; Houston; San Diego; and San Antonio, Texas."

The 10 lessons from global trade and investment planning in U.S. metro areas

McDearma, Brad; Donahue, Ryan. The Brookings Institution. May 27, 2015 [PDF format, 36 pages]

"Twenty-eight U.S. metro areas, representing about 30 percent of the U.S. economy and selected through a competitive application process, are developing trade and investment plans as part of the Global Cities Initiative (GCI), a joint project of the Brookings Institution and JPMorgan Chase (see map). The goal of GCI is to catalyze a shift in economic development policy and practice that results in more globally competitive metropolitan areas, positioned for high-quality growth and better jobs for more workers... Changing global dynamics and emerging opportunities for long-term, sustainable growth make it imperative that U.S. metro areas engage globally as never before. To prepare local leaders for this challenge, this paper presents the 10 lessons that have emerged from the ongoing efforts of U.S. metros participating in the Global Cities Initiative (GCI) to develop and implement strategies for maximizing the benefits of exports and foreign direct investment (FDI)." Brad McDearman is a fellow and director of global special projects with the Metropolitan Policy Program at The Brookings Institution. Ryan Donahue is a policy/research assistant at the Metropolitan Policy Program.

2015 US Small Business Global Growth Report: A world of opportunity for every American Small Business

eBay Public Policy Lab. April 2015 [PDF format, 20 pages]

"This is the latest in a series of reports from the eBay Public Policy Lab that examine the impact of globalization and technology on small business commerce around the world. This report focuses on the United States, looking at how SMBs from across the US have embraced technology to grow their businesses globally. As in our previous reports, the eBay Marketplace provides the illustration of a new model for technology-enabled trade that is taking shape. Importantly, we believe our findings to be applicable generally to the nexus of trade and technology... The report compares findings from eBay Marketplaces with "traditional" trade flows between the US and other countries that have been gleaned from US Department of Commerce and US Census data as well as World Bank data... This finds that more than 190,000—or 90 percent—of its small and medium-sized businesses used its platform to export in 2014. Small businesses, for the first time in history, are utilizing the Internet and the services built on top of the Internet to go beyond their local consumer base and reach out to the world. These micro-multinationals are able to compete in the global market, while maintaining a local physical presence. The economic and social benefits that are being created as a result of this new trend are astounding."

Small Business, Big Threat: Protecting Small Businesses from Cyber Attacks

Testimony of Todd McCracken, President and CEO, National Small Business Association (NSBA) Before the House Committee on Small Business April 22, 2015 [PDF format, 7 pages]

"In the last few years, cybersecurity has emerged as a significant problem and concern for the small-business community. By the end of 2014, according to NSBA's Year-End Economic Report, fully half of small businesses reported having been the victim of a cyber-attack (up from 44 percent in 2013). Of those, 61 percent say an attack had occurred within the last year. While a 14 percent increase in the number of small-business victims of a cyberattack is significant, we believe the real story is the increasing impact those attacks are having on small businesses, in terms of both the interruption of normal business operations and the direct financial cost of the attack. In 2013, only 12 percent of businesses reported that resolution of the cyber-attack required more than one week; by late 2014, more than one in five such attacks were still unresolved after one week, with 13 percent of them requiring more than two weeks. Three in five businesses experienced a service interruption, and a third had their websites go down for some period."

A closer look at income and race concentration in public schools

Jordan, Reed. The Urban Institute. May 13, 2015.

"A majority of public school students nationwide are from low-income families, according to analysis by the Southern Education Foundation. But mapping this disadvantage shows that it's unevenly spread across the country: poverty is concentrated in specific schools, and black students are more likely than white students to attend these high-poverty schools... Potential solutions exist within both school and housing policy, because schools and neighborhoods are intimately linked. Neighborhood segregation, a powerful driver of racial inequality, is commonly responsible for high-poverty schools. Local context will determine the specific solution, but proven remedies are widely available, are fiscally feasible, and use various housing and school policy levers." Reed Jordan is a research assistant in the Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center at the Urban Institute.

The Class of 2015

Gould, Elise; Davis, Alyssa; Kimball, Will. Economic Policy Institute. May 27, 2015.

"This paper focuses on recent high school (age 17–20) and college graduates (age 21–24) who are not enrolled in further schooling. We analyze employment, enrollment, and wage trends in order to glean the Class of 2015's economic prospects as they start their careers. Due to the progression of the economic recovery and a modest improvement in the unemployment rate, members of the Class of 2015 currently have better job prospects than the classes of 2009–2014. However, the Class of 2015 still faces real economic challenges, as evidenced by elevated levels of unemployment and underemployment, and a large share of graduates who still remain "idled" by the economy. In addition, wages of young high school and college graduates have failed to reach their prerecession levels, and have in fact stagnated or declined for almost every group since 2000." Elise Gould is a Senior Economist and Director of Health Policy Research at the Economic Policy Institute (EPI). Alyssa Davis and are both EPI's research assistants.

Youth Apprenticeship: A Hopeful Approach for Improving Outcomes for Baltimore Youth Lerman, Robert, I.; Packer, Arnold. Abell Foundation. April 2016 [PDF format, 16 pages]

"The transitions of American youth from school to career have proved problematic for decades, especially for young men of color. Baltimore's youth have experienced chronic problems in graduating from high school and finding employment. One in four students fails to graduate high school within five years. This report argues that youth apprenticeship offers a sound strategy for improving school and career outcomes for Baltimore's youth. It describes how apprenticeship has proved effective in a range of contexts, including current state programs in Georgia and Wisconsin and comparable European programs and how a youth apprenticeship program could be fashioned in Baltimore... How can public policy initiatives for youth do better? What does the experience from other countries and selected programs in the U.S. suggest about preparing youth for rewarding careers? These questions are particularly timely as youth apprenticeship is being mentioned both nationally and in Maryland as a promising strategy to better prepare youth for employment." *Dr. Robert I. Lerman, an Institute Fellow at the Urban Institute and Professor of Economics at American University. A workforce development specialist, Dr. Arnold Packer has held important policy positions as Chief Economist at the Senate Budget Committee and Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of Labor.*

Broad Public Support for Legal Status for Undocumented Immigrants

Pew Research Center. June 5, 2015.

"With immigration shaping up to be a major issue in both the final years of the Obama administration and the 2016 presidential campaign, most Americans (72%) continue to say undocumented immigrants currently living in the U.S. should be allowed to stay in the country legally, if certain requirements are met. These views have fluctuated only modestly over the past two years. As in prior surveys, a majority of those who favor granting legal status for people in the U.S. illegally – 42% of the public overall— say they should be able to apply for U.S. citizenship. About a quarter of the public (26%) say they should only be able to apply for permanent residency."

Multiracial in America: Proud, Diverse and Growing in Numbers

Pew Research Center. June 11, 2015.

"Multiracial Americans are at the cutting edge of social and demographic change in the U.S.—young, proud, tolerant and growing at a rate three times as fast as the population as a whole. As America becomes more racially diverse and social taboos against interracial marriage fade, a new Pew Research Center survey finds that majorities of multiracial adults are proud of their mixed-race background (60%) and feel their racial heritage has made them more open to other cultures (59%). At the same time, a majority (55%) say they have been subjected to racial slurs or jokes, and about one-in-four (24%) have felt annoyed because people have made assumptions about their racial background. Still, few see their multiracial background as a liability."

ARTICLES

The Hottest 15 Metros for Advanced Industries

Friki, Kenan; Muro, Mark. The Avenue (blog). June 8, 2015, var. pages.

"America's advanced industries—characterized by their deep engagement with research and development (R&D) and science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) workers—drive regional and national prosperity, as we observed in a recent Brookings paradigm report. And yet, while advanced industries do this everywhere, how they do it in one metro area can be quite different from how they do it in another. In some places local clusters push the frontiers of advanced manufacturing. In others they focus on energy or information technology. The strongest locations do it all. So, to see some of the ways in which local regions participate in the advanced economy, we here tour the 15 densest advanced industries hubs (in terms of employment share) in the United States." Mark Muro, a senior fellow and director of policy for the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings. Kenan Friki is a Senior Policy Analyst at the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings.

The \$65 Billion, 20-Year Plan to Transform an American City

Ungerleider, Neal. Fast Company. May 26, 2015, var. pages.

"The Mayo Clinic is located in the small city of Rochester (pop. 111,000), about a two-hour drive from Minneapolis, Minnesota. And it is, right this minute, competing fiercely for a small-but-extremely-lucrative slice of the global medical tourism industry. The wealthy American, European, east Asian, and Gulf Arab patients who have been the clinic's bread and butter have been instead choosing to get treatment abroad or at domestic rivals like Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University or the Cleveland Clinic. But that may be changing—and the reason, if not the construction, is simple: the Destination Medical Center. That's an audacious 20-year plan by Rochester, the Minnesota state government, the Mayo Clinic, and their private partners to spend more than \$6.5 billion on a kind of real-life version of SimCity, designed to turn Rochester into a global biotech hub, and double its population in the process." Neal Ungerleider covers science and technology for Fast Company.

The Ex-Im Bank and the Foundations of American Power

Petraeus, David; O'Hanlon, Michael. The American Interest. June 10, 205, var. pages.

"Congress is now considering whether to renew funding for the Export-Import Bank. That should not be a tough call. Economic and national security concerns argue strongly for continued funding. The Bank is, of course, a small U.S. government agency designed to help American companies compete more effectively for business abroad, by backing up loans and helping with financing in ways that wind up typically costing the American taxpayer nothing or even (as in recent years) turning a profit. As things stand, the Bank will stop functioning on June 30 unless action is taken. Beyond the specific economic benefits of Ex-Im Bank actions, many of them to assist small companies and collectively helping sustain more than one million American jobs, there is another reason to renew the Bank—strengthening the foundations of American power. To see why, it is important not to focus just on the Bank by itself but to place it in a broader context of long-term national economic strategy." David Petraeus is chairman of the

KKR Global Institute and a former commander of US Central Command and director of the CIA. Michael O'Hanlon is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

The Trade Paradox

Brownstein, Roland. National Journal. May 21, 2015, var. pages.

"Though congressional Democrats are resisting Obama's trade agenda, blue metropolitan areas are now generating the most jobs from exports.... The importance of exports to metro economies has opened a revealing divide between House and Senate Democrats, who are mostly resisting Obama's request for expedited Trade Promotion Authority, and Democratic mayors, who are mostly supporting it. The U.S. Conference of Mayors, which is dominated by Democrats, has endorsed the Trans-Pacific Partnership deal and the trade-promotion authority for Obama. Providing Obama with expedited legislative authority and completing the Asian deal, which would lower trade barriers among 12 countries including America, "is a critical step to ensuring that the United States and its metro economies remain leaders in the global market place," conference president Kevin Johnson of Sacramento." Ronald Brownstein, a two-time finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of presidential campaigns, is Atlantic Media's Editorial Director for Strategic Partnerships, in charge of long-term editorial strategy.

Google is starting a new company to improve cities

D'Onfro, Jillian. Business Insider. June 10, 2015, var. pages.

"Google is starting a new, independent urban innovation company called Sidewalk Labs that aims to improve cities, according to a post on Google+ by CEO Larry Page. Dan Doctoroff, former CEO of Bloomberg and deputy mayor of economic development and rebuilding for New York City, will run the company, which Page describes as a "modest investment" for Google that could hopefully "improve the lives of billions of people around the world." Sidewalk Labs will focus on building new products, platforms and partnerships to address major issues like cost of living, efficient transportation, and energy usage. It also plans to make strategic acquisitions and invest in partnerships." Jillian D'Onfro writes for Business Insider's Technology vertical and focuses on covering Google and ecommerce.

A Remarkably Simple, Low-Cost Way to Reduce Juvenile Crime: Thinking Slow Jaffe, Eric. CityLab. June 3, 2015, var. pages.

"Juvenile crime and school drop-out rates are big social problems, so the natural instinct is to address them with big social programs. As a result cities get massive public policies aimed at poverty, education, family life, gangs, and on down the list. Sometimes these efforts help, but they're difficult to design, and they're expensive to implement, and the outcomes aren't always clear. "That has sort of built up into this sense that these problems are too intractable," says criminology scholar Sara Heller of the University of Pennsylvania. "That we really can't do anything unless we do everything... Simplistic as it sounds, the initial results are encouraging. In a new working paper, Heller and collaborators report that three slow-thinking interventions conducted with at-risk adolescents in Chicago improved school outcomes and reduced arrests.

The findings "stand in stark contrast to the generally dismal record of efforts to improve the long-term life outcomes of disadvantaged youths," they conclude." *Eric Jaffe is a senior associate editor at CityLab.*

Are Some Government Jobs Gone for Good?

Maciag, Mike. Governing. June 2015, var pages.

"Total local government employment nationally remains about a half-million below its 2008 peak. But some governments have suffered a great deal more than others. Governing reviewed financial documents for more than 250 of the nation's larger distressed cities and counties to identify those recording among the steepest declines in public employment. The 10 localities shedding the largest share of their workforce lost anywhere from a quarter to slightly more than half of their employees from peak levels. What led these governments to make severe workforce reductions and how they responded to cutbacks offer unique lessons in an era of doing more with less." Mike Maciag is the Data Editor at Governing Magazine.

Digital Journalism: The Next Generation

Massing, Michael. The New York Review of Books. June 2015, var pages.

"BuzzFeed was founded in 2006 by Jonah Peretti and Kenneth Lerer, both of whom helped create The Huffington Post, and though the site is only a year younger than that organization, it's generally considered the face of journalism's future, so it seemed a good place to begin ...The BuzzFeed formula—brisk, entertaining, visually engaging, and reliant on sponsored advertising—has had a mesmerizing effect on second-generation sites. One can see it at Quartz, the glossy business publication launched by Atlantic Media in 2012;Business Insider, the gossipy business tip sheet; and Fusion, the new "multi-platform media company" created jointly by Univision and Disney to reach "a young, diverse, and inclusive millennial generation". It's ironic that a medium with such democratizing potential has become so highly centralized. BuzzFeed, The Huffington Post, The Daily Beast, Gawker, Quartz, Business Insider, The Intercept, Talking Points Memo, and ProPublica are all located a short walk from one another in lower Manhattan, forming a sort of journalistic counterpart to Silicon Valley and replicating the parochialism of the New York media elite." Michael Massing, a former executive editor of the Columbia Journalism Review, frequently writes about the press.

How Younger Americans Are Redefining Success

Brownstein, Ronald. The National Journal. June 11, 2015, var. pages.

"Against a backdrop of tumultuous economic and demographic change, younger Americans are drawing a new 21st-century road map to success, the latest Allstate/National Journal Heartland Monitor Poll has found... Young people who are still getting started in life were more likely than older adults to prioritize personal fulfillment in their work, to believe they will advance their careers most by regularly changing jobs, to favor communities with more public services and a faster pace of life, to agree that couples should be financially secure before getting married or having children, and to maintain that children are best served by two parents working outside

the home, the survey found." Ronald Brownstein, a two-time finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of presidential campaigns, is Atlantic Media's Editorial Director for Strategic Partnerships.

Information provided by the Research Unit http://madrid.usembassy.gov/

Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policies.